1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

extracted by squeezing the comb with the hand. Wax is obtained by placing the comb in boiling water and allowing it to cool, when the wax floats to the surface. The Khasis do not systematically tend their bees, as they do not understand how to prevent swarming, and as the Khasi bee is a prolific swarmer, hives become weak very soon and a new hive has to be started from a captured natural swarm. The villages in which bees are regularly kept to any large extent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are Thied-dieng, Mawphoo, Nongwar, Mawlong, Pynter, Tyrna, and Kongthong, but most of the Wár villagers rear bees and sell the honey at the neighbouring markets. The collection of the honey of the wild bee, or *u lywai*, is a hazardous occupation, the services of some six or seven persons being required, as the combs of this bee are generally built in the crevices of precipitous rocks, and sometimes weigh more than half a maund each. When such hives are discovered the bees are driven out by the smoke of a smouldering fire lit at the foot of the rock below the hive. Two or three men get to the top of the precipice, leaving two or three of their companions at the base. One of the men on the top of the rock is then lowered down in a sling tied to a strong rope, which is made fast by his companions above to a tree or boulder. The man in the sling is supplied with material to light a torch which gives out a thick smoke, with the aid of which the bees are expelled. The man then cuts out the comb, which he places in a leather bucket or bag, which, when filled, he lowers down to the persons in waiting at the foot of the rock. The wild honey may be distinguished from that of the domestic bee by being of a reddish colour. Honey from the last-mentioned bee is gathered twice or thrice in the year, once in the autumn and once or twice in the spring; that gathered in early spring is not so matured as that collected in autumn. The flora of the Khasi Hills being so numerous, there is no necessity for providing bees with artificial food. The bees are generally able to obtain their sustenance from clover, anemonies, "golden rod," bush honeysuckle, and numerous shrubs such as andromeda, daphne, &c., which abound about Shillong. There seem to be facilities for apiculture on a large scale in these hills, and certainly the honey which is brought round by the Khasis for sale in

231 [438] 231 263

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

247 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

245 An orangery is prepared in the following manner:—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 6 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The [435] price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 438 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Theria, Mawdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal markets.

244 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *hali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

basket is covered tightly with a cloth so as to be air-tight, and it is allowed to remain in this condition for a couple of days, during which time the liquor has oozed out into the bowl. To make *ka'iad um* the material, the rice or millet from which the *ka'iad hiar* was brewed, is made use of. It is placed in a large earthen pot and allowed to remain there for about five days to ferment, after which the liquor is strained off. *Ka'iad hiar* is said to be stronger than *ka'iad um*. The former is used frequently by distillers of country spirit for mixing with the wort so as to set up fermentation. The people of the high plateaux generally prefer rice spirit, and the Wárs of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills customarily partake of it also. The Khasis of the western hills, e.g. of the Nongstoin Siemship, and the Lynngams, Bhois, Lalungs, and Hadems almost invariably drink rice-beer, but the Syntengs, like the Khasi uplanders, drink rice-spirit. Rice-beer (*ka'iad um*) is a necessary article for practically all Khasi and Synteng religious ceremonies of importance, it being the custom for the officiating priest to pour out libations of liquor from a hollow gourd (*u klong*) to the gods on these occasions. As there is no Excise in the district, except within a five-mile radius of Shillong, liquor of both the above descriptions can be possessed and sold without restriction.

According to some Khasi traditions, the Khasis in ancient times used not to drink spirits, but confined themselves to rice-beer. It is only in the last couple of generations that the habit of drinking spirits has crept in, according to them. From Khasi accounts, the use of spirits is on the increase, but there is no means of testing these statements. There can be no doubt, however, that at the present time a very large amount of spirit is manufactured and consumed in the district. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale; in some villages, e.g. Mawlai and Marbisu, near Shillong, where there are fifty-nine and forty-nine stills respectively, there being a still almost in every house. Mawlai village supplies a great deal of the spirit which is drunk in Shillong, and from Marbisu spirit is carried for sale to various parts of the hills. Other large distilling centres are Cherrapunji, with forty-seven stills; Jowai, with thirty-one stills; Laitkynsew, with fifty-four stills;

1:Gurdon E-4.5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains. It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hâts, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

443 market for pleasure, I cannot agree with the
462 view, (3) that they would consider market busi-

3. P.C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1911, No. 4, p. 60.

ness beneath their dignity, if they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and shameful one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Wares

443
438 Food provisions are the chief items at the Khasi markets. Sold are: rice (khau), dried fish (doh kha), potatoes (phan), sugar cane (u pai), an edible root which is eaten raw (u soh phlang; botanical name: flemingia vestita Bentn); Job's tears (u soh rieu; botanical: name coix lachryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai soh, botanical name: setreria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: paspalum sanguinale); spadix millet (u 'rai truh, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two kinds: (u rymbai ja, botanical name: paseolus

calcaratus) and (u rymbai ktung, botanical name: glycine soja); corn (u 'rieuhadem); pineapple (u soh trun); lemons (u soh myndong); oranges (u soh niamtra); mangoes (u soh pieng); melons (u pathau); breadfruit (u soh kpu, botanical name: artocarpus incisa); Khasi cherries (u soh jong, botanical name: prunus ferrunginea); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u soh mrit); chilis (u soh myngken); papayas (u soh kynphor, botanical name: carica papaya); a kind of wild potato (u soh pyrsiu); cinnamon (ka sisia, botanical name: cinamum cassia); nutmeg (u joi phol); ginger (u 'sieng); honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut beams, bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, dried cow manure, spades for the fields (mokhiu); Khasi knives (ka wait); [704: A/4 P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. market troupe. They go in groups for fear of murderers (thleng owners)] [704: B/2 P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. A woman, carrying beans, on the way to the market at Cherrapunji.] [704: C/4 P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. The "umbrella" is placed between the back and the burden.] [704: D/2 P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. On the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane.] [704: E/4 P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Khasi traveling to the market in dugouts.]

[See photos, category 44, pp 5-9... Analyst]

963 [704: F]1 A [F.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.]
938 [704: G]1 A [F.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: Selling meat.] [704: H]1 A [F.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller, Market Place in Shillong: round chicken coops.] [704: I]1 A [F.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Daukhi.] [704: J]1 A [F.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Laitkynsew" Material for roofing.] [705] plaited baskets in all sizes , waterproof plaited containers, carrying baskets (tanpa), bands for the forehead (u star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bottles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of coconuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass, cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes; everything is the work of the Khasi.

Apparently European wares, such as loin cloths, stockings, caps, combs, mirrors, mouth harmonicas, matches, and cigarettes are also seen in larger amounts.

963 At the markets of the Khasi not only food-
964 stuffs and other things necessary for life may
965 be obtained, but workers are also hired there. Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the market and stands around, hoping to find some kind of work for the coming (market) week. Day laborers can only be hired at the market. Therefore it is hard during the week to get any kind of a worker. It is also necessary when hiring a t the market to hire the worker for the whole "market week," i.e., until the next market day, as the coolies otherwise would have a hard time finding work and would not accept the work at all for only one or two days. The porters needed for traveling

[See photo; category [illegible] m.s.--Analyst]

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u star). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [434] 443 482 438 285 443 [293]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

276 177 335 285 184 [283] [386] [286] [323] 177 178 [326] [286] [337] [294] 443 444 [805] [437] [178] [443] [438] [441] [526] [583] [602] [203] 462 [241] [231] [443] [335] [316] [493] 000

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of